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A Review of Indigenous Second Language Acquisition: Factors leading to proficiency in te reo Māori (the Māori language)

Matiu Ratima and Stephen May

Abstract: This review draws on literature from Reversing Language Shift (RLS), Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Māori and indigenous language education to identify help/hinder factors for second language (L2) proficiency development in te reo (the Māori language). Ten factors each with the potential to help or hinder the development of second language Māori proficiency amongst adult learners are identified, and an adult Māori language proficiency research agenda is proposed. The purpose of the research agenda being: to explore the relative importance of the 10 factors for adult learners seeking to develop proficiency in te reo.

Keywords: help/hinder factors; indigenous languages; Māori language proficiency; reversing language shift; second language acquisition; te reo.

Introduction

A proliferation of initiatives to revitalise te reo in New Zealand since the late 1970s has raised the status of the language within the New Zealand public sector. However, there is currently no evidence of a corresponding growth in the numbers of proficient speakers of te reo (Bauer, 2008; Benton, 2007). While there is some data on self-reported rates of Māori language fluency amongst adults (Research New Zealand, 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2002), there is no empirical baseline data on rates of acquisition and ultimate proficiency amongst second language (L2) learners of te reo.

For the purpose of the broader research agenda mentioned above we have developed the following working definition of the highly proficient adult Māori language speaker:

> A highly proficient Māori language speaker is able to speak, listen, read and write in te reo Māori. Communication with other fluent speakers is spontaneous. Furthermore, the highly proficient speaker is able to express all of their thoughts, opinions and emotions according to the context and with whom they are interacting.

This definition is based on recent work done by the Māori language commission to set out criteria for assessing levels of Māori language proficiency (Haemata Limited, 2006). It also accounts for the sociolinguistic aspects of language proficiency emphasised in Bachman's (1990) model of language competence.

The development of Māori language proficiency amongst adults is of local and global significance.

Locally, te reo is important to Māori people (individuals and communities) as a symbol of identity and of status within New Zealand society. It is also significant to New Zealanders because of its association with New Zealand heritage and as an expression of the country's cultural and linguistic diversity. The government of New Zealand has a statutory obligation to protect and develop te reo under The Māori Language Act 1987. Perhaps the most significant reason for interest in adult Māori language proficiency is that the survival of the Māori

language is far from secure. Two local statisticians have concluded that recent evidence of an increase in the numbers and proficiency of Māori speakers is too small to justify optimism about the overall health of the language (Bauer, 2008; Benton, 2007).

On a global level, the question of adult proficiency in indigenous languages is significant precisely because of the lack of scholarly attention. Much of the literature on revitalising endangered languages is focused on children's compulsory schooling. Joshua Fishman has developed a comprehensive theory of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) by integrating the international literature on revitalising endangered languages into a generalisable body of theory (Fishman, 1991, 2001a). This theory acknowledges the importance of adults, especially of parenting age, in re-establishing an endangered language in the home. Intergenerational transmission of language (ITL) is acknowledged as pivotal to RLS (Chrisp, 2005; Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2003). However, RLS does not seek to explain how the development of adult proficiency in an endangered language can best occur.

Those who have written about adult language learning of endangered languages have been limited to describing the range of methods available to adult learners (Baker & Jones, 1998; Harnisch & Swanton, 2004; Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999). There has been little consideration of the full range of factors that impact on the development of proficiency. This review addresses the current lack of attention to the adult indigenous language learner and concludes there is an urgent need for a research agenda focused on adults developing proficiency in indigenous languages.

In this review we have identified 10 factors leading to proficiency in te reo Māori. Our intention (for a future research project) is to explore the relative importance of each factor through the learning experiences of a cohort of highly proficient second language speakers. This is a fundamentally different approach to the study of second language acquisition, which, for the most part, has been concerned with either proving or disproving theories of language acquisition meaningful to researchers but of little use to learners and teachers. It is also a departure from research on Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and Indigenous Language Revitalisation as they tend to focus on compulsory schooling and therefore native language acquisition or child second language acquisition.

Ten help/hinder factors

Research into the development of second language proficiency for adults (16+ is the post compulsory education age range in New Zealand) has often divided help/hinder factors into two categories: individual and social (Baker, 2006; Harley, Allen, Cummins, & Swain, 1990). Individual factors include language aptitude, age, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies. Social cultural factors include instruction, and factors related to identity formation such as agency and anxiety. Different researchers following different conceptualisations of the second language learning process have often chosen to place emphasis on one or other sets of factors. Researchers seeking to describe the process and predict successful acquisition have focused more on the individual factors (Gass, 1997; Selinker, 1992; Skehan, 1989). Others seeking to explain the process have generally found greater explanatory power in the analysis of the social and cultural factors (Block, 2003; Pitt, 2005; Schumann, 1978).

We have chosen to group factors into three categories (not two) by including a third category: wider societal factors. This distinction separates some factors where an individual learner can exercise agency (within their day to day socio-cultural interactions) from other factors where the learner can exercise little or no agency (the wider societal context). For that reason we consider demography (population, proximity and access to other speakers), language status (legal and cultural) and language planning (government policy and community based) as wider societal factors rather than immediate social cultural factors.

Given the exploratory nature of this review, we gave all three categories of factors due attention. We begin with a discussion of research into individual factors, followed by social cultural factors (immediate) and finally the wider societal factors are considered.

Individual factors

Factor 1: Aptitude

In his influential work on the language aptitude testing, John Carroll (1962) identified four components that when tested for could reliably predict future success in intensive foreign language learning. The following table (Table 1) presents a summary of the four components.

Table 1. Carroll's four components of language aptitude

Phonetic coding	the ability to recognise, identify and recall certain sounds and their written symbols
Grammatical sensitivity	sensitivity to the functions of words in a variety of contexts
Rote learning	the ability to learn complex chunks of language (words, phrases, sentences and expressions) and recall them over an extended time frame
Inductive language learning	the ability to infer forms, rules and patterns from new linguistic material with minimal supervision or guidance

(Carroll, 1962)

The model outlined in Table 1 has endured because it is reliable in predicting future success in foreign language learning. Carroll developed a battery of tests (the Modern Language Aptitude Test or MLAT) based on the model and trialled them with hundreds of armed forces personnel prior to entry into intensive foreign language programmes. Correlations between pre-entry aptitude scores and their exit proficiency scores as high as 0.84 were achieved (Carroll, 1962, p. 101).

More than two decades on from Carroll's work on aptitude, researchers had done little to extend on or criticise Carroll's four point model. Peter Skehan wrote that aptitude (as Carroll had defined it) was still empirically the most significant factor in predicting success in the acquisition of a foreign or second language (Skehan, 1989, p. 38). Later Skehan (1998) proposed a revised version of Carroll's four component model that collapsed grammatical sensitivity and inductive language learning into an "analytical language ability". This model is important as it proposes that certain elements of aptitude are significant in adult language learning at different times. Phonetic coding is more important early on when proficiency is limited. Analytic language learning is important both early and later as proficiency levels advance. Rote learning and memorisation is also important at early and later stages of proficiency; however, exceptional learners tend to utilise exceptional memorisation aptitude to develop native or near-native language ability.

Carroll also extended on his own work by theorising that if a student lacks aptitude, proficiency may still be gained by allowing for more time and a higher quality of instruction (Skehan, 1989, p. 6). He did not elaborate on the phrase "higher quality of instruction". Fortunately, others have and I will return to this topic under the section on instruction.

One criticism of aptitude-based research in L2 acquisition is that aptitude tests like the MLAT may not be measuring "aptitude" at all. They may instead be measuring underlying constructs

such as the learners "test savvy". If this is true then learners who have trouble with de-contextualised language, who might do better with language in more naturalistic settings would be at a disadvantage.

A second related criticism of aptitude tests is that they are primarily concerned with linguistic competence and do not test for communicative competence. As such, the limitations of aptitude tests and aptitude studies conceptualised within narrow linguistic definitions of aptitude should be made clear. They may reliably predict future success in developing language skills (of the linguistic de-contextualised kind) but it is not so certain that they can predict success in developing language ability (of the communicative kind).

In brief, research into language aptitude has found aptitude to be one of the most empirically reliable factors in the prediction of L2 learning success in intensive language courses. John Carroll's four component model continues to be regarded as "the model" of language aptitude and this is because of his ability to establish empirically its reliability as a predictive framework. However, where a student lacks aptitude (as Carroll has defined it) they may still achieve high levels of proficiency. This is an important point for students who could do better learning language in a more naturalistic setting. Current systems of aptitude testing have yet to accommodate a broader definition of aptitude to include communicative competence and this may disadvantage learners who prefer learning language in context. Finally, Carroll suggested that where a student lacks aptitude, proficiency could still be achieved by allowing for more time and higher quality instruction.

Factor 2: Age, timing and the critical period

SLA researchers have estimated that only about 5% of second language learners will go on to develop the mental grammar of native speakers (Ellis, 1997). The prominent theoretical explanation for such a low rate of ultimate proficiency amongst adult learners is the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH). Based on Chomsky's universal grammar theory [1], the CPH contends that the younger the age at which one is first exposed to an L2 the better the effect on the ultimate proficiency one is likely to attain. The critical period generally refers to the age range from 2 years to puberty. After puberty, it is thought to be unlikely the L2 learner will ever reach native-like proficiency. However, there is evidence that some adult learners, experience no "critical period" (White & Genesee, 1996). White and Genesee focused on identifying adult L2 learners who were exposed to an L2 late (16+ years of age) and had gained native-like proficiency. These findings do not deny the effects of age on the ultimate ability to acquire native-like competence in an L2. However, they present a significant empirical challenge to the notion that age is the primary determinant. A recent review of research into the CPH as an explanatory theory (Schouten, 2009), delineated three types of studies: research which affirms and extends upon the age/proficiency link; research that refutes it; and research that seeks to reconceptualise it to include other factors like individual learner attributes and social interactional and environmental factors.

Lenneburg (1967) is credited with popularising the term "Critical Period Hypothesis". He conducted research into the first language (L1) acquisition of those who never fully develop language proficiency (for example, the mentally disabled or those who became deaf at an early age). His theory was that due to structural reorganisation within the brain which occurs during puberty, any language skills not fully developed prior to the restructuring would forever remain underdeveloped. Research into second language acquisition with non-English speaking immigrants to the USA (Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1978; Patkowski, 1980) leant support to this theory when they found that age was the only variable that strongly predicted the ultimate attainment of certain grammatical structures in English.

[1] Noam Chomsky postulated a theory that the human brain has a limited number of rules that can be applied to language; therefore, all human languages must have a common grammar (see Chomsky, N. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. MIT Press, 1965).

Some studies have challenged the validity of the CPH. Such studies point to the existence of speakers whom, despite having little or no exposure to the L2 prior to puberty, managed to achieve near native-like performance (Birdsong & Molis, 2001; White & Genesee, 1996).

Others have accepted the basic premise that age may be a factor in determining ultimate proficiency with the caveat that it is not the only factor. Therefore a redefinition of the parameters of the CPH is required to accommodate a wider range of factors. DeKeyser (2000) argues that not only age but also the verbal ability of adult learners is a key determinant of ultimate near-native proficiency. Here "verbal ability" refers to the ability to analyse the structure of language and utilise language-based problem-solving strategies. DeKeyser found a strong correlation between high verbal ability and ultimate near-native proficiency. Moyer (1999) argues that other non-biological factors like learner motivation, cultural empathy, the desire to sound like a native speaker, and the type and amount of input have been largely left out by researchers. Her study found L2 learners who had a professional motivation (for example, translators and journalists) to use German scored significantly closer to native-like ability.

Baker (2006, p. 129) in his review of studies comparing adult L2 learners with child L2 learners found evidence that younger learners tend to eventually reach higher ultimate levels of proficiency in the L2. Baker argued that this does not provide evidence of a biologically restricted period of development. Instead he suggests that key social differences between younger and older learners are more likely determinants. In particular, the learners' situations and opportunities to produce and practise the L2 and the amount of time learners have to dedicate to the L2. Typically younger learners get to spend more time (intensive and extended periods) acquiring an L2 than older learners. Furthermore, older learners are more efficient at L2 learning in structured contexts.

Age and timing are factors in second language acquisition. It is questionable that this is because of a biologically critical period of human brain development. Strong forms of the CPH have some significant limitations. First, the existence of adult learners, however rare, who have reached native or near-native proficiency in an L2 present a serious empirical challenge to the CPH. Second, there is a plausible alternative explanation for the tendency of younger learners to achieve higher ultimate levels of L2 proficiency. Their learning situations and their length of exposure to the L2 is simply more conducive to achieving higher levels of proficiency. Third, the generalisability of the CPH across different L2 learner contexts has been drawn into question by replication studies. Fourth, there are other non-biological factors that CPH-based studies tend to ignore, such as verbal ability and professional motivation. Recent research has shown these non-biological factors correlate in some instances with higher levels of proficiency amongst adult learners (DeKeyser, 2000; Moyer, 1999)

One could conclude that it is better to begin learning te reo earlier rather than later. The earlier a person starts the more likely they are to achieve proficiency. However, current research into the CPH does not rule out the possibility of a dedicated adult learner (a good language learner) achieving native or near-native proficiency. Given time, opportunity and the right motivation, proficiency can be achieved.

Factor 3: Attitudes and motivation

Learner motivation is thought to be amongst the most influential of factors in the successful acquisition of a second or foreign language. This may be because, as Skehan (1991, p. 49) observes, "It [motivation] can overcome unfavourable circumstances in other aspects of language learning." Gardner's (1960) research has been instrumental in establishing attitudes and motivation as a legitimate field of inquiry in its own right within SLA research. Gardner made the distinction between what he called integrative and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation relates to the way a learner feels towards speakers of the target

language. If the learner has a desire to relate, interact with or maintain contact with the target community then they are said to have integrative motivation to learn the target language. Thus the learner's attitude towards the target group affects their motivation to learn the target language. Instrumental motivation refers to the learner's view of whether or not learning the target language will provide any kind of practical advantage. For example, if the learner thinks they are more likely to be employed or to earn more money or benefit from an enhanced social status as a result of developing proficiency in the target language, then they are said to have instrumental motivation.

Gardner pioneered the development of statistical techniques to provide evidence for the relationship between the learner's attitudes towards speakers of the target language, learner's motivation and the learner's language learning outcomes over time. He developed the Attitude and Motivation Index (AMI). Gardner tested the AMI extensively and was able to use it to correlate attainment in L2 learning with integrative motivation and attitudes to a good degree of success within the context of Canadian high school students learning French as a second language (Gardner, 1980). Other researchers using the AMI in different contexts have found attainment to correlate with different aspects of the AMI. For instance, a study applying the AMI to students learning English as a second language in the Philippines found parental instrumental motivation to correlate higher with attainment than integrative motivation or attitude (Skehan, 1989, p. 54).

Gardner (1960, 1980) initially postulated integrative motivation as the more important form because it is personal to the learner and would therefore be less subject to changes in the external environment. For example, a change in government policy to provide financial incentives for learning an indigenous language may affect learner instrumental motivation but would be less likely to impact on integrative motivation. It is now thought that the importance of one form of motivation over the other is more likely to depend on the context. The shift in thinking was initiated by the results of studies where instrumental motivation was found to correlate at least as highly as integrative motivation did with successful acquisition (for example, Dornyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006). Dornyei et al. (2006) found in their study of Hungarian high school second language learners that there was a "threshold effect" on integrative motivation. They observed many students who initially had no or little contact with target language speakers and at first reported an integrative interest in learning the target language. Over time as they learned the target language and had increasing contact with target language speakers, mostly tourists, they reached what Dornyei et al. called a "threshold" of contact and their integrative motivation to learn the target language waned. This finding challenges Gardner's conceptualisation of integrative motivation as the more resilient form and Dornyei et al. suggest a re-conceptualisation of integrative motivation as a factor more susceptible to changes in context than originally conceived by Gardner.

The Dornyei et al. (2006) study represents a significant advance on Gardner's early work. Their study at the time was the largest empirical study into motivation for second language learning. They surveyed over 13,000 Hungarian high school second language learners over three occasions, 1993, 1999 and 2004, and found that there were four statistically significant clusters of motivation types within the sample: those with significant integrative but little or no instrumental motivation; those with significant integrative and some instrumental motivation; those with some integrative and significant instrumental motivation; and those with significant integrative and significant instrumental motivation.

It may not be surprising that the cluster which produced the greatest success in language learning outcomes was those with both significant integrative and significant instrumental motivation. However, the finding is important because it was the first time this correlation had been validated on such a large scale and in such definitive fashion. It is also important because it provided further evidence that, in the Hungarian case, instrumental motivation was just as significant a factor in successful language acquisition as integrative.

One major limitation of the study was the decision not to consider the effects of instruction on motivation. Their justification (Dornyei et al., 2006) was that, due to logistic complexity and the sample size, the effects of instruction would be too difficult to gauge. Instruction, and in particular how to optimise L2 learning outcomes through instruction is considered in detail under the section on social cultural factors.

In summary, the research outlined above has established that motivation is a powerful factor in the development of L2 proficiency. Motivation reliably correlates with L2 learning outcomes over time. It cannot be assumed that integrative motivation is more important than instrumental motivation as research shows variation between different language learning contexts. Motivation is dynamic. A learner who starts out with integrative motivation may not necessarily retain it over time. Similarly, a learner who is at first instrumentally motivated may develop an affinity with the target language and its speakers and therefore develop an integrative motive. Finally, the best results are achieved when both integrative and instrumental forms of motivation are present within the learner. An obvious conclusion is that a successful learner is a motivated learner. What may not be so obvious is what strategies a motivated learner applies to develop proficiency in the target language.

Factor 4: Learner strategies

SLA research concerned with the question of what makes a good learner has tended to focus on the cognitive strategies employed by individual learners. The following commonalities in "good language learners" or GLLs have been identified: they focus on both form and meaning; they take charge of their own learning; they have an awareness of the learning process and of their own learning styles; they are flexible in selecting an appropriate strategy for a learning situation; and they are particularly good at meta-cognitive learning strategies (planning, monitoring, evaluating their own learning) (Ellis, 1997, p. 77; Naiman, Frolich, Stern, & Todesco, 1996; Rubin, 1975)

A more recent study by Norton and Toohey (2001) challenged the explanatory power of the GLL research and showed that even amongst cohorts of L2 learners who appear to employ many of the general strategies and the specific techniques of GLLs, only a small number excel and reach native-like levels of proficiency. Norton and Toohey (2001) described how one adult L2 learner, Eva, appeared to excel over and above the rate of acquisition of her fellow immigrant women cohort, in spite of the entire cohort displaying roughly equivalent abilities with regard to GLL criteria. Norton and Toohey attributed Eva's success in part to the possibilities her community offered – her social cultural milieu.

The GLL studies have been meaningful and useful to second language teachers because they identify and describe good learning practice. Studies based on other individual factors (such as age, aptitude and motivation) have been more concerned with the prediction of success and therefore less useful to language teachers. The major limitation of the GLL studies lies in their scant attention to the social and cultural milieu within which the learner strategies occur. Knowledge of the strategies is important, but of at least equal importance is a consideration of the conditions that enable learners to utilise these strategies.

Social cultural factors

By comparison to the individual help/hinder factors identified above, the social cultural factors influencing the successful development of L2 proficiency represent a less developed field of scholarly interest (within SLA research). Most studies are theoretical, small scale action research or case studies. They often utilise exploratory and qualitative methods of investigation (Lantolf & Poehner, 2008; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Peirce, 1995). Researchers focused on a particular individual factor like aptitude, motivation, or age, have assumed that

each element can be studied in isolation as fragmented factors influencing mental processing. By contrast a focus on the social and cultural determinants of successful L2 learning is underpinned by an assumption that learning is a holistic process that must be studied in its natural and meaningful state and within its social and cultural context. From the perspective of social cultural theory it does not make sense to study elements in isolation (van Lier, 2008).

There is messiness and a blurring of the lines between factors that is to be expected with a complex interconnected phenomenon. The specific social cultural factors we will deal with here are: instruction, agency and anxiety, and wairua (Māori spirituality). Although attitudes and motivation is covered at length under individual factors, there is mention of motivation here as it relates to agency and anxiety. We have chosen to deal with instruction here as a factor that an individual can exercise a degree of choice over, when more than one choice of instruction is available. All of the wider societal factors (dealt with later) are connected since unequal power relationships in the broader society are played out in the day to day linguistic and social cultural interactions of L2 learners.

Factor 5: Instruction

Rod Ellis (2005) has produced the most comprehensive review of the SLA literature on instructed second language acquisition at the time of writing. He concluded that current research into instruction and L2 acquisition does not provide a definitive answer to the question of "What forms of instruction work best for L2 learners?" The ambiguity, he suggests is due to most research being concerned with proving or disproving various theories from SLA and a lesser concern for practical issues that matter to teachers. He stressed the need for more carefully designed process-product studies in order to better address pragmatic questions. Ellis offered 10 general principles of effective instruction drawn from the SLA research from the previous 15 years (Table 2 provides a list of the 10 principles and Ellis's practical suggestions for teachers and curriculum designers).

Table 2. Ellis's 10 principles of effective instruction

Principle	Suggestion
1. Develop a repertoire of formulaic expressions and rule-based competence	Teaching should initially focus on rote learning of formulaic expressions and delay the analysis until later.
2. Focus predominantly on (pragmatic) meaning	Instruction should not exclude activities focused on semantic meaning, but teachers must make an effort to use language for communication.
3. Also focus on form	Instruction can focus on form: by teaching specific grammatical features; by encouraging "noticing" of grammatical features; through tasks requiring learners to process grammatical features; by allowing time for "on-line" planning; or through corrective feedback.
4. Develop implicit knowledge while not neglecting explicit knowledge	Instruction should be directed at both forms of knowledge but Ellis offers no suggestion as to how this might be achieved.
5. Take into account learners' "built-in syllabus"	1) Adopt a "zero grammar" or a task-based approach with no attempt to predetermine the linguistic content. 2) Teach target features when learners are developmentally ready (not practical for large classes). 3) Focus on explicit knowledge rather than implicit as the latter is subject to developmental constraints.

6. Provide extensive L2 input	Maximise the use of L2 in the classroom as means of instruction. Create opportunities for students to receive input outside the classroom. Provide graded reading material appropriate for student levels. Where resources allow, provide self-access centres students can use outside of class time.
7. Provide opportunities for output	Ask learners to perform tasks that require both written and oral language.
8. Interaction in the L2 is central for proficiency	Give students opportunities and reasons: to use language; to express their own personal meanings; to participate in activities just beyond their current levels of proficiency; to deliver "full performance" in the language.
9. Take account of individual differences in learners	Offer different types of both analytic and experimental (task-based) learning activities. Develop instructional clarity, an appropriate pace of delivery, and accept that it is a teacher's responsibility to motivate students.
10. Assess free as well as controlled production	Teachers should include the assessment of performance of tasks. "Closed" tasks are the most practical to assess (e.g., spot the difference where learners must interact to find the answer).

Adapted from Ellis (2005)

Teachers might ask the important question: "Does research show that instruction makes a difference in second language acquisition?" This question was addressed in a comprehensive study by Michael Long (1983) who found there was some evidence that instruction does help the acquisition of an L2 for children and adults.

Ellis's (2005) review of the literature on instructed second language acquisition also offers a partial response to this question and we may draw out three important points from his work as follows: Instruction may be effective when 1) opportunities for students to engage in communication-based activities are given priority, 2) opportunities for students to interact and express their own meanings are emphasised, and 3) students' opportunities for learning the L2 are extended beyond the classroom.

For the most part Ellis's approach to instruction has been dominated by an input/processing theoretical model of L2 learning. This model views L2 learning as an internal mental process where the social cultural and contextual factors in learning are at best modifiers to internal mental process (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 312). Social cultural theory views L2 learning as a process where learners appropriate the utterances of others in the context of particular historical and cultural practices. From the social cultural perspective, learning first takes place on the social plane before it can later be internalised by the individual (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Vygotskii & Kozulin, 1986). Researchers must pay attention to the social and cultural practices within the learning context if they are to understand how the learner gains or is denied access to the linguistic resources of the language community. The following section will extend the focus beyond the classroom and into the realm of social cultural theory and consider the effect of conceptualising L2 learning as identity formation.

Factor 6: Agency and anxiety

> The success of language learning may be affected by the wealth or restriction of opportunities for identity development in new networks (e.g., acceptance,

> rejection)….Language learning is not just a cognitive activity operating in the mind, but is also about becoming part of a new language community and developing multiple identities. (Baker, 2006, p. 138)

> In restaurant was working a lot of children, but the children always thought that I am – I don't know – maybe some broom or something. They always said "Go and clean the living room." And I was washing the dishes and they didn't do nothing. They talked to each other and they thought that I had to do everything. And I said "No." The girl is only 12 years old. She is younger than my son. I said "No, you are doing nothing. You can go and clean the tables or something."
> (Martina, an immigrant ESL learner working in a Canadian restaurant, in Peirce, 1995, p. 22)

The first quote makes two points relevant to this review. First, L2 learning may be conceptualised as the development of new or multiple identities. Second, successful L2 learning may depend on the learners' ability to access new social networks and assert new social identities. The second quote gives a specific example of this identity formation process in action. Martina's young fellow workers initially reject her as an inferior due to her limited command of English. They ascribe to her the role of lowly "broom". She asserts her agency and rejects this ascribed identity by reaffirming another of her own multiple identities, that of mother. Her words convey her underlying message – I am not your inferior. Pierce interprets this act of agency through a feminist lens and concludes that Martina's social identity is a site of struggle where Martina has borrowed from her family role as leader, organiser and superior in order to defend the status of her workplace identity. She asserts herself as a person with a right to speak and be spoken to with dignity. An important part of Martina's ability to be able to convey her message to her fellow workers is her command of English. As her linguistic capacity develops so too does her identity as a fellow worker. In fact the two are inextricably linked.

In the case of Martina her identity as a mother and her responsibilities to her children provided a powerful source of motivation for her never to give up trying to learn to speak English. She was fearful that if she did not learn English she would jeopardise her children and her family's ability to access the benefits of a good life in Canada. Like Martina, Māori parents surveyed in Chrisp's (2005) study reported a motivation to ensure a better future for their children. Chrisp interviewed 50 Māori parents through eight focus groups over a two-month period. The participants were asked questions regarding their knowledge and use of te reo. The research was based on the assumption that intergenerational transmission (ILT) of te reo is crucial to language regeneration. The desire to be able to pass the ancestral language on to children was a key motivating factor for those parents choosing to learn te reo and for those choosing to speak Māori to their children. This may be seen as an expression of agency and as an assertion of Māori parents' identities as Māori. Pierce warns that motivation in the real world is not as simple as Gardner's (1960) *instrumental* and *integrative* orientations suggest. The very forces that motivate a learner can also produce anxiety, and anxiety can silence L2 learners.

Some Māori parents within Chrisp's (2005) study reported elevated levels of anxiety when entering Māori language classrooms and when attempting to engage with fluent speakers of te reo even though the same participants identified these very acts as a motivating force. The following exerpt from Pierce's (1995) study of adult female migrants to Canada illustrates this complexity.

> Mai, who came to Canada for her life in the future and depended on the wishes of management for her job security and financial independence, was most uncomfortable speaking to her boss. Katarina, who came to Canada to escape a communist and atheistic system, and had a great affective investment in her status as

> a professional, felt most uncomfortable talking to her teacher, the doctor, and other anglophone professionals. (Peirce, 1995, p. 19)

Pierce concluded that the dominant model of motivation in SLA at the time (Gardner's) could not adequately account for the contradictions apparent in the social and cultural lives of L2 learners. Pierce proposed that second language learners bring aspects of their multiple identities to bear on their learning situations. They "invest" time, energy, and their own *social capital* into the business of acquiring the target language, often in spite of difficult circumstances. The investment they must believe will be justified by the social dividend they will accrue; that is, access to the economic and social resources of the target language community, as a result of their developing capacity. Peirce's (1995) economic model builds upon Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor of social capital which learners bring to any learning situation. Learners who possess the "right" kinds of social capital, have an advantage over others. All learners possess social capital but the particular type and its appropriateness depends on factors like language, dialect, social class, cultural characteristics, physical appearance, personality, and so forth. Pierce makes a strong case that the way L2 learners successfully or unsuccessfully deal with complex issues like anxiety must be understood in terms of their social identities and the type and magnitude of the investment they make in learning the L2.

Notwithstanding the anxiety that many L2 learners report, some manage to excel and reach levels of proficiency over and above their fellows. One example is Eva from the Norton and Toohey (2001) study. As mentioned earlier Eva was able to develop L2 proficiency (in English) much more quickly and to higher levels than other immigrant women on the same study, even though she was no different to the other participants in terms of the GLL criteria. An input/processing approach might have sought to explain Eva's success in terms of her motivation, aptitude, or some other individual trait. Norton and Toohey following social cultural theory chose to explore two elements within Eva's social and cultural world in order to seek a better understanding of her success. They focused on the dialectic between Eva's agency as an L2 speaker and the opportunities and constraints on offer within the social and cultural practices of her workplace.

Eva took a job at a fast food restaurant, Munchies, in order to learn English. The social cultural language practices at Munchies initially were not ideal for developing Eva's linguistic capacity. Conversations between staff and customers and between fellow staff were generally short as the objective was to serve customers as quickly and efficiently as possible (except for break times when the staff would chat). In addition Eva's limited English meant she was allocated the tasks that require little or no talking (the most undesirable tasks like cleaning and preparing food for cooking). Munchies policy to help sponsor a monthly social outing for staff gave Eva her first opportunity to be seen by other staff, including her manager, as a desirable person to talk to. In this different context Eva's youth and good looks became assets which she could leverage in order to engage her workmates in conversation. Her partner often helped provide transport for staff on these outings and this too had the effect of raising Eva's appeal as a desirable interlocutor. Eva was also able to utilise her intellectual resources to reposition herself as a person fellow staff would want to talk to. One Canadian colleague had a Polish husband and was happy to learn some basic Polish language from Eva. Other colleagues had an interest in visiting Europe as tourists and Eva was able to use her knowledge of Europe to engage them in conversations.

By exploring the social cultural context of Eva's developing L2 proficiency, Norton and Toohey (2001) have shown how a good language learner can use their agency to reposition themselves and redefine their L2 identity even when conditions may not be optimal. Norton and Toohey speculate that things might not have worked out so well for Eva had she not been white, slim, good looking, and in possession of desirable knowledge (2001, p. 318).

> It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. (Peirce, 1995, p. 13)

In the case of Eva we can see clearly what Pierce is saying. Eva used what limited language she had to negotiate a new identity as a worthy English language speaker. She used knowledge and social assets to gain access to the language networks of her workplace, access that was initially denied on the basis of her limited English.

Currently, no such in-depth studies to reveal the social cultural lives of good Māori second language learners exist. This kind of a study has an appeal. The focus shifts from the evidence of production of specific linguistic features, as with most SLA studies, towards understanding the social and cultural processes which can obstruct or assist with te reo acquisition and these must be addressed for language regeneration to occur.

Chrisp (2005) identified what he called psychological barriers to learning te reo that some Māori parents exhibit. Chrisp gave two examples of these barriers. First was the tendency for Māori parents to have unrealistically high expectations, to be hard on themselves when they failed, and to be whakamā or ashamed about failure – "I am Māori so I should know this." Second, was the tendency to put off learning te reo with the avoidance strategy of saying "I will learn it when I move back home." "Home" here is a reference to the tribal district.

Just like Martina and Eva, adult te reo learners will face adversity in order to develop high levels of proficiency in the target languages. This adversity is often expressed as anxiety and is related to perception of the learner as an inferior. The power of and over language resides with the dominant group or with target language speakers. That power must be met with assertion and agency from learners in order for gains to be made.

Factor 7: Wairua

Browne (2005) carried out a study on wairua and second language learning of te reo within the Te Ataarangi programme.[2] She interviewed a range of teachers and students from the programme and proposed a theory of wairua as a paralinguistic phenomenon activated by karakia (prayer) with the power to bring a "balanced wholeness of being" to those engaged in learning. "Paralinguistic" in this sense means a phenomenon with more than just linguistic qualities. She concluded that wairua was an affective factor in the second language acquisition of te reo. Browne theorised that as te reo increasingly became the learners vehicle for the nurturing, growth and development of the spirit, so too would the proficiency of the learner grow and develop.

As a Māori L2 learner and an insider to Māori culture and custom, Browne's conclusions resonated with my own learning journey. In my (first author, Matiu Ratima) experience spirituality is so integral to learning te reo and to all Māori cultural contexts that it is largely taken for granted and sometimes requires outside eyes to point out its salience. For example, all te reo classes I participate in begin and end with karakia (prayer), including those held in secular mainstream institutions. All formal speech making (whaikōrero and karanga) includes addressing of the deceased, God (or the gods), and the ancestors. To neglect any one of those aspects is generally considered a display of ignorance. As my proficiency in te reo develops over time so too does my spirit. The external manifestation of this growth is that I have become more able and more needed to make a contribution to the communities I serve. This is not to say that learning te reo (or one's native language) is the only path to spiritual growth. However, my experience reinforces Browne's conclusion: developing proficiency in te reo

[2] Te Ataarangi is a community-based immersion Māori language programme for adults. See www.teataarangi.org.nz for more information.

occurs in parallel with the growth and development of wairua. Browne's wairua "hypothesis" offers a plausible case for wairua as an affective factor in the acquisition of te reo. However, by comparison to the other factors considered in this review her theory is preliminary. Important questions remain: Is spiritual growth a co-requisite for te reo proficiency development? Is it conceivable to develop proficiency in te reo without spiritual growth? What is the nature of the relationship between the two? More research is needed to address these questions and to ascertain the relative importance of wairua as an affective factor in the acquisition of te reo.

In this section we have reviewed examples of how wider inequitable societal power relations are played out within the context of individuals' day to day interactions (Baker, 2006; Peirce, 1995). Differentials of power between L2 learners and speakers of the target language make L2 learning a site of struggle and L2 learners must constantly negotiate for access to the linguistic, social and cultural resources of the target language community. It has been argued that wairua is an affective factor in developing proficiency in te reo for adult learners, although it is not well understood from an L2 learning perspective.

Wider societal factors

The following section will explore the wider societal factors that can impact the opportunities L2 learners have to develop their linguistic capacities. These include: demography, language status, and language planning.

Factor 8: Demography

The population and distribution of ethnic minorities is an important factor in revitalising a language and maintaining an environment where opportunities for L2 learners to engage in naturalistic conversations abound (Baker, 2006, p. 56). The number of speakers and their saturation within a specific area has a bearing on language maintenance. For example, the high concentration of Spanish speakers in Miami helps to maintain a vital Latino community. In New Zealand there are two small rural towns well known amongst Māori language speakers. They are Tokomaru on the East Coast of the North Island, a stronghold of the Ngāti Porou tribe, and Ruatahuna in the central Bay of Plenty, within the traditional tribal district of the Tūhoe people. Both towns have a high Māori population density. Tokomaru is located within East Cape district which has an 87.9% Māori population and te reo is spoken by 45.3% of the people. Ruatahuna is within the Matahina-Minginui district which has a 55.6% Māori population and te reo is spoken by 33.8% of the people (these statistics are based on the 2006 Census and are available from www.stats.govt.nz/Census/). These towns, through their isolation and high concentrations of Māori speakers, have managed to maintain bilingual Māori/English speaking communities. However, there are instances where lively minority language social networks remain intact, in spite of relatively low numbers of speakers.

Baker (2006) offers three examples of how a small number of speakers can continue to maintain language networks when located within a dominant majority language environment. First, language maintenance can occur when there are strong religious beliefs associated with the minority language group. Second, when speakers can travel relatively easily between their homeland and their place of residence language maintenance can occur. Third, whenever speakers within a large city or border areas are socially and culturally active in their minority language, maintenance may occur. All three examples hold some relevance in the case of te reo in New Zealand. Often where there is a Māori immersion language nest (kohanga reo), an immersion primary school (kura kaupapa Māori), or an immersion high school (wharekura), there will be an active wider Māori community network to promote language maintenance and provide opportunities for L2 learners to develop proficiency. Hoani Waititi marae, based in the Auckland City suburb of Glen Eden, is an example of a Māori institution which comprises all three types of Māori immersion schooling listed above (pre-school, primary and

secondary). These institutions provide not only for educational needs but also strive to integrate the religious and cultural practices of their communities. New Zealand is sufficiently small enough that travel to and from the tribal homelands, while difficult, is possible for many urban dwelling Māori. The very existence of such Māori institutions as Hoani Waititi raises the status of te reo at home and abroad. The following section will consider the impact that the status of the L2 may have on the L2 learner.

Factor 9: Language status

Baker (2006, p. 55) identifies three elements which affect the overall status of a language and may motivate the "shift" of speakers towards or away from speaking that language. They are: economic status, social status, and symbolic status.

If a minority language is connected with widespread unemployment or deprivation a shift away from speaking that language can occur. This was the case with te reo from around the turn of the last century. As Māori communities struggled to recover from loss of lives (through European introduced disease) and loss of lands (confiscated or alienated by other means following the land wars of the 1870s) many became impoverished. Learning English was touted as the only way for Māori children to gain access to the benefits of a British education and the associated material wealth.

When a majority language is seen as providing access to higher social status, power and prestige, a shift towards speaking that language can occur. This has been the case with the English language in New Zealand. By the 1970s Māori had taken so emphatically to speaking only English in school, at home and at work that Richard Benton (1979) declared the Māori language to be in danger of extinction. Many Māori elders and community leaders (who had long been concerned by signs of language loss) were alarmed by the empirical evidence provided by Benton. His research added momentum to a powerful language-, culture- and rights-based Māori renaissance movement through the 1970s and the 1980s. The Māori Renaissance effectively elevated the social status of te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and culture).

A heritage language may be important as a symbol of ethnic identity. This is certainly the case for te reo. This sentiment is captured in the often quoted expression "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori", meaning that the Māori language is the life force of Māori mana (Sir James Henare cited by Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 6.1.21). At the time of writing the Māori language has symbolic status as a heritage language in Aotearoa/New Zealand, not just for ethnic Māori peoples but also as a heritage language for the nation. The nature of this status is expressed through the degree of priority the language is given within national institutions (the law, parliament, schools and workplaces). While Māori has a secondary priority to English there has been a quantifiable increase in its use and access, and therefore in its status, since te reo was made an official language of New Zealand by an act of Parliament in 1987 (Benton, 2007, p. 171).

Benton (2007) offers an alternative (to Baker's) way of conceptualising the status of a language based on the Māori concept of mauri. The double meaning of mauri is in one sense "the life force" and in another sense an actual physical object within which a life force may be installed by means of incantation and ritual. With this dual concept in mind Benton sets out to answer the question: "Is te reo a mauri or a mirage?" After a review of the statistical and historical evidence he concludes that it may be viewed as both. On one hand, it is a mauri in the sense of the latter meaning as a physical object carrying a life force. Even though as few as 26% of Māori people speak te reo, so long as someone somewhere speaks it then it remains a symbol of Māori identity (Baker's symbolic status). More importantly concepts which

define and delineate Māori culture (whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga)[3] can continue to be meaningful so long as someone continues to understand and express them through te reo. On the other hand, te reo's status as an "official language" of New Zealand is something of a mirage given the low numbers of Māori speakers and the secondary priority it is allocated within New Zealand's societal institutions: the law, schools, home and the workplace.

Both Baker's (2006) and Benton's (2007) conceptualisations of language status are useful. Both recognise that where proficiency in a language mediates access to economic and social rewards, the status and the impetus to develop and maintain the language is strong. Both conceptualisations also recognise that, as with te reo, when a language is connected with the ethnic identity of a people, there may be a powerful impetus to preserve and revitalise. Benton's mauri concept illustrates his key point: while te reo may have a secure symbolic status (te mauri o te mana Māori), its economic and social status are not on such firm footing.

Factor 10: Language planning

Examples from countries like New Zealand, Norway, and Canada show that language planning can strengthen the status (economic, social and symbolic) of an indigenous or minority language (May, 2003). The following section considers language planning especially with regard to RLS and identifies language planning priorities to create conditions conducive to the L2 acquisition of indigenous languages.

In democratic societies across the world there is increasing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination and to the preservation of their culture language and customs as they see fit. Joshua Fishman (2000) and Stephen May (2003) have argued that the right to speak one's language and to raise one's children in one's native or ancestral language is a basic human right. The United Nations has provided considerable moral force to the Fishman and May positions through articles 13 and 14 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2007). Article 13 asserts the right of all indigenous peoples to be able to maintain their native languages. Article 14 asserts the right of access to an education in the native language. These are rights that monolingual English speakers take for granted in English dominant countries around the world. The position clearly articulated by scholars like Fishman and May, and expressed in the Declaration is: The systematic neglect or the intentional suppression of an indigenous language may be seen as a direct human rights violation. In the bigger picture, indigenous (and minority) language rights must be protected in order for human ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity to remain intact. Language planning is one mechanism through which human linguistic (and therefore cultural and ethnic) diversity can be afforded some protection. RLS is the scholarly field that most clearly articulates an agenda for language planning to protect and revitalise indigenous languages, and create the conditions for proficiency to develop.

Fishman is generally regarded as the "father" of RLS theory. He has defined RLS as:

> …the linguistic part of the pursuit of ethnocultural self-regulation which democracies and international bodies are increasingly recognising as a basic right for indigenous (and often also for immigrant) populations. (Fishman, 2000, p. 452)

In the New Zealand context, "ethnocultural self regulation" is expressed as "tino rangatiratanga" or Māori self-determination. Language planning is crucial to identify priorities for linguistic self-determination, especially when resources are limited. Fishman identified two types of language planning activities: corpus planning, and status planning (Fishman, 1999).

[3] Whanaungatanga, relationships based on kinship connections. Mana, spiritual power, pride and status. Manaakitanga, generosity and responsibility to care for others.

Corpus planning refers to planning for the development revision and expansion of lexicons (dictionaries), orthographies (systems of symbols for writing), grammars, and phonologies (patterns of speech sounds) and the growth of a corpus of print and multimedia material in the target language. Corpus planning is essential to L2 proficiency development because language learners require an abundance of quality material (print and multimedia) in the L2 in order to develop proficiency (Krashen, 1985).

Status planning refers to planning for broadening the functional range of the language to include power-related functions. A power-related function is one which mediates access to the material and social resources of the society. If a language is needed in order to work or to be educated then that language has a power-related function. The development of grass-roots (or "flax-roots" in New Zealand) Māori immersion education at all levels of formal schooling and at the tertiary level, are examples of the extension of te reo into the power-related functions of New Zealand society. This process is essential to L2 proficiency development as it can create employment and provide instrumental motivation for L2 learners to gain proficiency in te reo.

In order to help identify priorities for threatened languages to expand into power-related functions of language, Fishman developed his own theoretical model known as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or GIDS (see Fishman, 2001b, p. 466 for a detailed description of the model). There are eight stages on the model with stage 8 being most threatened and stage 1 being least threatened. Fishman's model illuminates the importance of adult second language learning as an integral part of the regeneration of an endangered language.

Fishman describes stage 6 on the GIDS as the "pivot" of the model. At stage 6 the minority language is being passed from generation to generation and is being used in the community. According to Fishman, if an endangered language is to survive, it is essential to re-establish or maintain intergenerational language transmission (ILT). In other words, for the language to be saved, children must be bonded in the social networks of the target language community. Their most intimate relationships, that is, with their caregivers, must be mediated by the threatened language. Only then can true ILT be re-established and reversal of language shift achieved (Fishman, 2001a).

Based on his GIDS model and the pivotal stage 6, Fishman identifies four crucial and interlinked areas to concentrate efforts for RLS activity:

(1) Acquiring the threatened language as a second language for adults of child-bearing age;
(2) At the same time the second language learning of adults must become the first language of family-home-neighbourhood-community life;
(3) Schooling through the first language acquisition of the threatened language; and
(4) Post-school adolescent and young adult activities in the threatened language, as first language acquisition (adapted from Fishman, 2001a, p. 15).

The four areas are thus logically, naturally and functionally linked. It is the linkage that enables the threatened language to become a first language of a new generation. The key point for this review is that the four areas set in place conditions conducive to the development of L2 proficiency in te reo – a family-home-neighbourhood-community environment where te reo is spoken as a living language.

In summary, an ideal set of wider societal factors for the development of L2 te reo proficiency would include the following features. First, an optimal demography where high concentrations of adult te reo speakers live in close proximity. Alternatively, an active social cultural or religious network of speakers may provide sufficient conditions for L2 language

acquisition, even where the speakers are widely dispersed amongst a dominant language population. Second, where the status of a language is strong, that is, proficiency in te reo is linked with employment, social status and identity, opportunities for L2 learning are further optimised. Third, language planning for both corpus and status can directly lead to the creation of learning material to support L2 acquisition, meaningful employment to motivate learners, and to the fostering of a family-home-neighbourhood-community life where a high level of L2 proficiency in te reo may develop.

Conclusion

In this review we have identified 10 help/hinder factors influencing the development of Māori L2 proficiency with adult learners. We divided the factors into three distinct clusters: individual factors, social cultural factors, and wider societal factors. The individual factors include: aptitude, age and timing, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies. The social cultural factors include: instruction, agency and anxiety, and wairua. The wider societal factors include: demography, language status and language planning. The review reveals a significant gap in the literature. Very little is known about the Māori or the indigenous adult language learner experience. While it is clear that L2 learning is a site of struggle, we don't know what it means to struggle to learn te reo. It has been argued that learning te reo is as much a spiritual journey as an intellectual one, but still we have only a limited understanding of how wairua affects the development of proficiency in te reo. We know that agency and anxiety can influence opportunities for L2 proficiency development, but we do not know a great deal about the specific identity issues te reo learners face or how they may succeed in spite of them. This review sets in place a framework for further research into the developmental journeys of adult L2 te reo learners. The purpose of this future research agenda is to test for the relative importance of the factors outlined in this review. Studying the experiences of highly proficient second language te reo speakers can advance current knowledge of how high levels of proficiency in te reo can be achieved.

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Author Notes

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Matiu Ratima (Whakatohea and Ngāti Pūkeko) is a te reo teacher, lecturer at the Centre for Academic Development at the University of Auckland, and a PhD candidate at Waikato University, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Stephen May (Ngāti Pākehā) is a Professor in the School of Critical Studies in Education at The University of Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand.

E-mail: m.ratima@auckland.ac.nz